TO THE
BRITISH CABINET MISSION

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by

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PRICE RS. [redacted]

DEWAN'S PUBLICATIONS
LAHORE (INDIA)

Printed by
M. Miraj-ud-Din
at the
Trades Printing Press, Lahore
Published by
Dewan Ram Parkash, Lahore

If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that Nature can bestow—in some parts a very Paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky, the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant, I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature, we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human—a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and internal life—again I should point to India. Whatever sphere of the human mind you select for your special study, whether it be language, or religion or mythology, or philosophy; whether it be laws or customs, primitive art or primitive science, everywhere you have to go to India, whether you like it or not, because some of the most valuable and most instructive materials in the history of man are treasured up in India and in India only.

—*MAX MULLER*

PREFACE

It is in response to pressing request from numerous valued friends that I am allowing these articles to be reprinted in the present collected form. It needs scarcely be pointed out that they were written hurriedly and without proper preparation to meet a political emergency that had suddenly arisen. As everybody knows they are a natural sequel to an earlier series of eight articles which I had addressed to the Parliamentary Delegation under the caption : *Friends! This Is for You.* Copies of the articles were sent by registered post to Prof. Richards, leader of the Delegation.

What the outcome of the efforts of our august visitors to solve the Indian problem will be we do not know. But we have no doubt whatsoever that, despite all that the Amerys and Churchills might say or do, India is determined to be free and it shall be free before long. If the British statesmen are wise in their generation, they

should approach the crucial problem in a spirit of justice and even of generosity. Let no one forget that upon a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem tremendous issues depend—the happiness and contentment of 400 millions of the people of India, the reputation, progress and prosperity of Britain, and the peace and tranquillity of the world.

India is impatiently waiting to make its own contribution to the culture and civilisation of the world.

Lahore
14th June, 1946 RUCHI RAM SAHNI

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I

Our Greetings to the British Cabinet Mission

The triumvirate of Cabinet Ministers cannot realise with what hopes and misgivings their coming is awaited in this country. Premier Attlee's own words inspire the hope that a heavy weight may soon be lifted from India's breast and that we may at last have a chance to stand erect like self-respecting men. For England no less than for other great nations of today it is a time of serious searching of the heart. England has not been served well by most of her representatives here during the past sixty years.

We are passing through a crisis such as the world has not known before. From east to west and from north to south, I do not remember a peace time when all or almost all the nations of the globe were so much overwhelmed with a feeling of suspicion and mistrust even among the friends and allies of yesterday. Each is looking at the share

of the spoils claimed by the others. Not one of the great nations is believed to be sincere in its public professions and even solemn pledges and promises made before the bar of world opinion are not trusted. The fact of the matter is that while there has been an unimaginably tremendous development in the physical resources at our disposal, the spiritual and moral side of our being has been allowed to be completely starved and stunted. Indeed, in the last century some of the greatest scientific men had come to put their faith in the all sufficiency of physical forces to the practical exclusion of every other principle in the conduct of their individual or communal life. This should not be surprising considering that we are referring to a highly materialistic age. Things of the spirit were held in small regard if they were not actually looked down upon with positive contempt. This disequilibrium between the unrestricted external forces at our command and our severely retarded spiritual and ethical growth is a real tragedy. Religion itself has become a profession and church-going a fashion. The needs of the spirit are nowhere.

India Anxious To Rebuild Herself on

Her Own Pattern Both for Her Own Sake and To Make Her Humble Contribution to the Peace and Reconciliation of a Distracted World

Even a cursory acquaintance with our past history will show that our ancestors set great store by things of the spirit. This characteristic India shares with the other nations of the East. All the great religious teachers have come from the East, as the immensely rapid development of the physical sciences right up to the discovery of the atomic bomb and the release of limitless stores of energy we owe to the industry and devotion of the West. India presents the only instance in world history of a great colonial empire having been created entirely by peaceful and non-violent means and methods. What we call Greater India including the whole group of south-eastern archipelago came under the silent influence of the missionaries from India and within a few hundred years developed a glorious type of culture and civilisation the relics of which still excite the wonder and admiration of the scholars and savants of the world.

Luckily for us, India—or a large part of it—has come under the influence and guid-

ance of a teacher, Gandhiji, the like of whom does not appear but once in several centuries. Equally important is the fact that he embodies and reconciles in himself the essential or fundamental teachings of all the present-day religions. While proudly calling himself a Hindu, he has himself professed his indebtedness to the other world Fathers, specially to the great teacher before whom the West bends its knee in praise and prayer.

Our Past History Further Supports Our Present-Day Aspirations and Ambitions

I appeal to you to approach your great task in the spirit of ministering angels to the good of India and the humanity at large. The problem which the atomic bomb has raised for the world can only be solved, I humbly submit, if the world of tomorrow is built up in the spirit of the essential teachings of Buddha, Christ and others. This is not being done with the sad results that we see before us. There is but one religion, though the creeds are many. The emancipation of India from the shackles under which she finds herself will allow her not only to build up her own future but she will also be able to exert some influence in the building up of the national life of other peoples in the spirit of

a liberal and progressive faith.

Our Credentials

What India has done in the past the world knows. Let history be our witness. Speaking of the great empires of the world, H. G. Wells wittily disposes the achievements of Alexander the Great by saying that although "his rule extended from the Adriatic to the Indus" the modern fashion "to shave the beard is all that remains to remind us of him". Cæsar's outlook and of his immediate successors was wider and "the Pax Romanica, assuring equal rights of citizenship to those that were brought under her protecting wings, was a notable achievement". Considering both native genius and opportunities "the most disappointing figure in history is Napoleon". As we know, after the paralysing reign of Louis XIV, a reaction against monarchy had set in, a galaxy of thinkers and idealists arose and ushered in the Revolution: "The vast political changes that ensued gave birth to a new era of expansive ideals and visions. At such a moment Napoleon arrived on the scene. But he misused his genius; he missed his opportunities. His whole mental and moral horizon was bounded by the satisfaction of his personal

ambitions." In the expressive words of H. G. Wells, "the old order of things was dead or dying, strange new forces drove through the world seeking form and direction; the promise of a world republic and enduring world peace whispered in a multitude of started minds." And H. G. Wells delivers himself in these chastising words: "Had this man any profundity of vision, and the power of creative imagination, had he been accessible to any disinterested ambitions, he might have done work for mankind that would have made him the very sun of history."

And he goes on to say:

"There lacked nothing to the occasion but a noble imagination and failing that Napoleon could do no more than strut on the crest of this great mountain of opportunity like a cockerel on a dunghill."

One is not surprised that no Western historian, with his habitual contempt for the East, has even thought of putting Asoka by the side of the monarchs, we have just named, as a great empire-builder. So far as I am aware, the one man who looking down on the whole panorama of human history sees things in their true perspective is Mr. H. G.

Wells. I have a great deal to say for the clear vision of H. G. Wells while the vision of so many other historians is blurred by events which have greater importance in their immediate setting of time and place but which do not count as supreme factors in their general influence upon the destinies of the human race. Here is H. G. Wells's portraiture of the Cæsar of the Mauryan Empire and his estimate of the place which he occupies in the history of humanity:

"Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, Their Majesties and Graciousnesses, and Sereneties and Royal Highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines alone a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured."*

**The Outlines of History*—H. G. Wells, p. 490.

II

The British Empire in India : Its Greatest Defeat

I have said nothing so far about the British Empire in India with which we are most concerned at present. I am sure no one will claim for it the highest place even among the empires that have come and gone in this country. It suffers from one most serious defect from which *all the other empires were free.* It is this: The seat of authority of the empire is situated six thousand miles across the seas and its interests are necessarily looked after by servants and representatives who are selected in England from among Englishmen who spend a long or short term of service in this country and then retire "home" carrying with them all the knowledge, skill and experience which they had gained at our expense along with their savings. Over and above the fat salaries they drew while in service they also enjoy pensions on a

very favourable scale. This is the basis of the "Home Charges". What country can prosper under such circumstances.

Besides, the humiliation of serving under men who are never tired of reminding us in one form or another that they belong to a "superior" race, morally, intellectually and otherwise, is enough to cripple and emasculate any people and make them unfit to stand erect. Again, it is not only the Englishman we are expected to look up to as a "superior" person, but we have to learn very early in our contact with Englishmen to include every *white man* in that exclusive category. Even when in the course of our official duties we are *forced* (mark the word) to point out some serious failing in a colleague, or co-worker, the only response we receive is: *Will a "white man" do this?* And even when the matter is driven home, the "white man" does not suffer for it but the Indian has in most cases to suffer directly or indirectly for his plain speaking. We are often called upon to play the part of a hypocrite because it pays. I must repeat that it is only in exceptional cases and when one is *forced* to state the real facts that an Indian

would be reckless enough to utter a word against a " white man ".

As a sympathetic British writer* has pointed out, it is " peculiarly humiliating " to us to be told by our rulers that " in political science India has never at any period of her history attained to the highest level of Europe, that freedom has never spread her wings over their native land, that they are heirs to untold centuries of 'oriental despotism' and must wait patiently until the highly cultured political fruits of the West can be successfully grown in the virgin soil of India."

Again, despite Burke's trusteeship theory, of which we hear so much in official statements, the interests which the British servants and representatives are sent out primarily to watch, protect and promote are the interests of their masters in England. The interests of India can only occupy—and in most cases do actually occupy—a very subordinate place in the thoughts and plans of their daily duties and activities. " The Englishman," wrote Warren Hastings, " is quite a different

*H. B. Havell—*History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. viii.

character in India; the name of any Englishman is both his protection and a sanction for offences which he would not dare to commit at home." This was said more than a century ago, but it is equally true today. No one can blame them for it. It is only natural for them to behave and conduct themselves in this manner. In the working of a huge and extremely complicated administrative machinery, one does not expect to find many angels to be serving at the wheel. I am, however, bound to say with pleasure and gratitude that the "angels" are not quite absent and that I myself had the privilege of beginning my own official career at Simla under one of these angels—I mean Mr. H. F. Blanford, F.R.S., Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India. I wish I had time and space to write more about him.

Britain's Paramount Need To Win an Empire in the East

As the Younger Pitt had pointed out in the House of Commons in the course of the debate on the India Bill, the importance of the newly won empire in India had been greatly increased in their estimation by

the recent loss of their empire in the western hemisphere. Everything was therefore subordinated to the supreme needs of consolidating the empire in India. The Christian religion itself was given the go-by in order to serve the interests, as they thought, of their new empire. Demoralisation could not go further. Under the orders of Lord Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington, after the defeat of Tippu Sultan, *a thanksgiving offering of Rs. 5,000 was sent through a deputation of influential European officials to the goddess Kali at Calcutta.* At the time it was considered necessary to appease the Bengalees and it was thought they could best be placated and propitiated by making a substantial present to the Hindu goddess at Kalighat. I must add that I would never have given currency to such a statement without proper authentification. In his *Life of Carey Ward and Marshman*, the famous historian J. C. Marshman quotes the following paragraph from the journal of the Rev. Ward, one of the three illustrious Serampore missionaries, his own father being another:

"Last week a deputation from the

Government went in procession to Kalighat and made their offering to the goddess of the Hindus in the name of the Company for the success the English have lately obtained in this country. Five thousand rupees were offered. Several thousand native witnessed the English presenting their offering to this idol. We have been much grieved at this act in which the natives exult over us."

The historian himself observes that the incident had greatly humiliated and scandalised the British in India.

In these circumstances one need not be surprised to find that, on the whole, the affairs of the British Empire in India were conducted first and foremost, for the good of England. Throughout her long history India was known to be an exporter to China and the neighbouring islands in the east and to the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean in the west, the *exports consisting not merely of goods of utility but those of art and beauty as well*. The only imports India received in return were the precious metals and the more precious gems and stones, *because she*

produced everything else herself. Indeed in the earlier years of the British rule also, the loudest complaints made against us were that England was flooded with goods which she could only pay for in cash and bullion.

India's Great Industries

After agriculture, weaving and spinning—both silk and cotton—and shipping and ship-building were the chief industries of India. India was famous for its fine and artistic weaving but it may not be so well known that spinning and weaving formed a great national industry in this country right up to the beginning of the last century when special measures began to be adopted to destory both weaving and shipping and ship-building. It will perhaps be news to many among our own people that, as I propose to show in a future contribution, India continued to *command the seas for ages and that even during the early decades of the British rule in this country, as good and sea-worthy ships were built in the Indian dockyards under entirely Indian direction and supervision as anywhere in Europe.*

III

Well-Deserved Appreciation

I must not forget to say a word of appreciation of the good work which the British have done in India. The defects to which I have referred in a previous communication of the present series are the defects of their position and of the system of Government which that position imposes upon them. But in spite of all their shortcomings, serious as they are, it has to be admitted with gratitude that in various ways, Britain has rendered a magnificent service to India. Whatever their own motives might have been, the fact remains that the British came in when India was plunged in chaos and anarchy. Besides a number of warring Indian claimants, several powerful European nations had appeared on the scene and were struggling to divide the prey among themselves. In place of a British India, a French India, a Portu-

guese India and a Dutch India together with perhaps a few Indian States, the British domination has at least preserved for us an undivided India. The fundamental cultural unity of the country which had come down to us as a precious legacy from the time of Asoka and earlier has been passed on intact to us. To this heritage the Mughal emperors had also made a valuable contribution which further enriched the Indian culture. It is this composite culture that has come down to us through the British administrators with a veneer of the modern Western pattern. This in itself is no small service and we should not be slow to acknowledge it. They have, besides, made large numbers of Indians familiar with the day-to-day working of a big State on modern lines. They have built up an elaborate administrative machinery for an All-India Democratic State, and they have introduced us to a good working knowledge of one of the most advanced European languages, with all its accumulated treasures of science, philosophy and a noble freedom-loving literature which has charmed and thrilled millions of our young men and young

women with ideas and ideals of Western culture and civilisation.

For all this and a great deal more that the British connection has meant for us, we are sincerely grateful. The empires of Asoka, Akbar and the present British empire in India represent three widely separated periods which, though differing in other respects, have one thing in common they can all boast of having witnessed a large ancient country politically and culturally knit together under a single umbrella. No other country in the world is so well fitted in virtue of its geography and long history to live its own independent life as India is.

Equally important is the fact that our intimate contact, even in a subordinate capacity, with a great powerful empire has engendered in us the international sense and brought valuable opportunities to a large number of our intellectuals to study and understand intricate problems of international character.

Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan an Ill-Defined, Inchoate and Ill-Fitting Concept

In the context of the historical development of one united cultural and political

whole, Mr. Jinnah's fantastic conception of "two distinct nations" emerges before us as a veritable Pandora's box full of evil things. Perhaps that is the real reason why Mr. Jinnah is reluctant to explain what Pakistan stands for. He is afraid to lift up the lid of his box lest the evil things should come out and sting all the onlookers. Whatever the explanation of it might be the fact is the two-nation theory cannot hold. As Gandhiji has put it, more than 80 per cent of Muslims are converts and "converts cannot form a separate nation". The two-nation claim is a mere assertion without a shred of reason to support it. Mr. Jinnah has perhaps himself begun to see the absurdity of it : he now says he is not an Indian. Is he an Arab, Turk, Afghan, Irani or what ? and the other Leaguers ?

As I have said above, Mr. Jinnah fights shy of carefully examining his Pakistan scheme to see how far it will stand the test of time. So many competent persons have condemned it as impracticable and unworkable from the point of view of finance, defence and otherwise. No wonder Mr. Jinnah insists upon his demand for

Pakistan to be conceded without proper scrutiny and before a provisional interim Government is formed. His demand is that Pakistan "in principle" should be accepted at once and that two separate constituent assemblies be set up one for his pet scheme of Pakistan and the other for independent Hindustan.

Threats of Civil War and Bloodshed

All these years Mr. Jinnah has been putting his reliance mainly upon what in the language of logic is called *aogumentum baculinum*, the argument of force. At the Muslim League Conference held in Karachi early in 1939, several prominent leaders made fiery speeches including Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon, M.L.A., Mr. Jinnah and the late Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. They all declared in so many words that if the Hindus did not concede their demand for Pakistan, consisting of about one-third of India, they would invite the Afghan legionaries from across the border and conquer the whole country for themselves. A great deal more of this kind of stuff was uttered by the big guns of the Muslim League. Sir Sikandar Hayat also made similar speeches in his own province

forgetting that, as Premier, he was expected not to set the bad example of inciting the people to break the law. He was soon silenced when his attention was drawn to what experienced administrators like Lord Lawrence, Lord Ellenborough and others had said in praise of the military skill and bravery of the Poorbiah army in the course of their evidence before General Peel's Commission on the reorganisation of the Indian army after the troubles of 1857. Under a competent commander, they said, the Poorbiahs would march forward conquering right up to the Dardanelles. They were great soldiers and would die at their guns. It must be remembered that the questions put to them were confined to the Poorbiahs because it was mainly a Poorbiah army that had helped the British to conquer the Punjab. After the lessons and experiences of the last Great War threats like those Mr. Jinnah is in the habit of indulging in do not go very far. They only betray a feeling of frustration and despair.

Mr. Jinnah and his friends and co-workers understand the weakness of their case perfectly. The moment they open their lips they further expose how futile their

demand for Pakistan is. They have declared again and again that "they did not want Swaraj or complete independence or Ram Raj or Dominion Status". They wanted "the right of self-determination" for the Muslims of India. This is a strange demand. Self-determination for the Punjab or any other part of the country one can understand but self-determination for a community that has been living inter-mixed with other communities for centuries past is not so easy to understand.

Mr. Jinnah Not an Indian

As a lawyer Mr. Jinnah must know that negations do not explain much. His latest declaration is as mystifying as his previous pronouncements. He now says he is not an Indian. What is he then? The position becomes more intriguing when one remembers that according to the first rank leaders of the Muslim League even independent Muslim States like "Egypt, Syria, Iran, Algeria and Turkey are un-Islamic". The time is fast coming when to this list of "un-Islamic States" will be added the kingdom of the Emir of Afghanistan which is rapidly liberalising, thanks mainly to the influence of Cabul

University. I learn from reliable sources that a great many Afghan youths are making a close study of Western sciences along with the French and German languages as also of Indian cultural history, philosophy and the Sanskrit language.

Has Jinnah Forgotten What He Said Twenty-one Years Ago?

I count Mr. Jinnah among my old friends. We have known each other for more than thirty-five years. In his earlier years he was called the fire-brand of the Congress. He was a most ardent nationalist. His two-nation theory, his Pakistan and his latest declaration that he is not an Indian are all his own creations of not more than fifteen years back. I am sorry my good friend has lost his memory so completely. It would be mercy to him and a welcome relief to the British Cabinet Mission if I draw their attention to the following passionate declaration by the ardent Congressman of 1925 which should be sufficient to demolish the later fantastic claims—the two-nation theory Jinnah has been led to put forward before the world. Speaking on the Finance Bill in the Legislative Assembly in 1925 (only twenty-

one years ago) Mr. M. A. Jinnah said :

"*I stand here with a clear conscience and I say that I am a nationalist first, a nationalist second and a nationalist last. Whether you are a Mussulman or a Hindu, for God's sake do not impart the discussion of communal matters into this house and degrade this Assembly.*"

With these words I leave Mr. Jinnah to settle his account with himself and his conscience.

IV

The Indian Problem in Its Three-Fold Aspects

In the two series of articles, namely those addressed to the British Parliamentary Delegation two months back. and the present series meant for the British Cabinet Mission, I have hurriedly stated two out of the three aspects of the Indian problem. The third aspect deals with the shape of India which, I hope, our children will build up in the not far distant future. I will presently set forth, *in the barest outline*, the pattern of the future India—the land of our desires, prayers and dreams, the India that we love to see take its rightful place in the coming World Order.

The two aspects I have already referred to are :

I. *The Validity and Adequacy of Pakistan.*—Mr. Jinnah and his friends have persistently evaded offering us a clear definition of the Pakistan about which we

hear so much. There was so little substance in it that, frankly, I never thought any serious notice would be taken of it by a constitution-making assembly. However, I confess that the Hoare-Amery-Churchill group was right and men of my views were wrong. By lending their powerful support to Mr. Jinnah's strange creature they have succeeded in creating an impression that Pakistan cannot be dismissed offhand.

I have shown that Mr. Jinnah himself was a passionate "nationalist" not many years ago. He was prepared to stake his own "conscience" in support of his political creed. In a recent article in his weekly journal, *The Social Welfare*, Mr. K. M. Munshi writes :

"In a conference which I remember to have attended, he (Mr. Jinnah) received ovation of thousands. And he was welcomed as a true Indian who knew no difference between Ram and Rahim."

Mr. Munshi further points out that "the man without a country" was born and bred up in India. His father, Mr. Jinabhai, was a Cutchi Menon cf Karachi and that he "learnt to speak in Cutchi and broken Gujarati". Mr. Jinnah speaks about "two

nations". If converts can so quickly form "nations", he might as well speak of twenty nations inhabiting India. The true position was stated by Sir Syed Ahmed, *when he was a nationalist and before he came under the spell of the "Diplomatic Viceroy" (Lord Dufferin) and became a communalist.* In a speech delivered in 1883 or 1884, the great Muslim leader said :

"I call these races (Hindus and Mussulmans) who inhabit India by one word, *i.e.*, Hindu, meaning to say that they are both inhabitants of Hindustan, *while in the Legislative Council I was always anxious for the prosperity of this nation*" (mark the word).

What have Mr. Jinnah and his supporters to say about this? One has really no patience with people who would *create nations* in this way. But he is in a desperate mood and has now discovered that he has no country which he can call his own. It is sad to think of a man who is forced in a spirit of frustration to disown his own motherland.

The only definition of Pakistan, that has so far been presented by its sponsors, is that it is a sort of *Theocratic State* where the *Muslim shara law* would become the law

of the land. They "did not want Swaraj or complete independence or Ram Raj or Dominion Status". In the Pakistan sovereign State, usury would be abolished and "prohibition would be strictly enforced". Zakat would be levied from Muslims and jazia from all others in place of recruitment to military duty. So strictly would these principles be applied and enforced that the leaders of the Muslim League look upon the existing Muslim independent States such as *Egypt, Syria, Algeria. Turkey and Iran as un-Islamic.* In other words as things stand at present Afghanistan and Arabia would remain the only two Islamic States in the world. All the other countries will have to be reconverted to Islam.

I must add at once that the picture of Pakistan I have given above was given authoritatively by recognised leaders of the Muslim League.

Seriously, what are things coming to? Living in the year of grace 1946 under the ægis of an advanced European nation, *can the British Cabinet Mission entertain for a day a proposition like this put before them?* The League leaders know the weakness of their position and they insist that they

must be promised "Pakistan" first and that even the "*interim Government must come later. Failing this they threaten civil war and bloodshed.*" That has been the Muslim League position from the Karachi Conference of 1939 to the New Delhi Muslim League Legislators Convention of a couple of days back.

Those that have raised the "wind" may now face and reap the "whirlwind". One thing is certain: even the British Cabinet Mission cannot accept Pakistan as the basis of the Indian constitution of the future.

II. *Britain's Responsibility.*—In the first of the two series of communications I have tried to trace as clearly as I could the history of the birth and growth of communalism which in the hands of a clever person like Mr. Jinnah has within a few years produced Pakistan. From beginning to end, the responsibility for it rests on the shoulders of British administrators, from Lord Dufferin and Lord Minto to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. I trust the unitarian Lord Pethick-Lawrence will refuse to support the principles of "divide and rule" that have led to India drifting away more

and more from England to the serious damage of England and India, as well as to the cause of peace and tranquillity of the world.

Similarly, Lord Irwin (present Lord Halifax) was being advertised in the Anglo-Indian Press as a Christian Viceroy when he was negotiating terms of Gandhi-Irwin agreement. But when once Gandhiji was in the midst of the Round Table Conference, everything was forgotten and Gandhiji was sent back, as I have pointed out more than once, with the *heavy millstone of the communal decision round India's neck.* Will the Cabinet Mission recognise Britain's own responsibility for our present troubles? Whether we say it or not, the plain fact is that British statesmen can only wash out the blot on their administration of India by a *big act of generosity.* As our elder statesmen Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. M. R. Jayakar and several others occupying a high position in the estimation of world opinion have recommended let the Mission introduce joint electorates with reserved seats for any community that may ask for it on the basis of its population proportion. There is no other solution.

One point more. Britain is a democratic State. She fought the two world wars professedly for the sake of democracy. A constitution based upon the principles of a Theocratic State is, therefore, out of the question. Why should such lengthy negotiations have been carried on with Mr. Jinnah I do not know. They have only spurred him to stick on. The encouragement thus given by Amery, Linlithgow and others throughout these last six or seven years have encouraged the communal elements to come together. You may bring together a large number of men, but they cannot help you in constructing a Modern State. The forces that bind a political State are of a quite different character from those that have brought the Legislators of the Muslim League together.

V

On the Eve of a New Age

Standing on the threshold of a new era of unlimited stores of atomic energy made available to us, we are yet far from being quite happy. We have begun to realise, as we never did before, that a wrong use of our very riches is sure to involve millions of human beings in destruction. On the other hand, the proper and well-regulated consumption of the limitless stock of energy might become our "Kamdhenu" (the cow of plenty) and make the whole world flow with milk and honey. The question before humanity was, therefore, one of proper control. As I said at the beginning of this series, during the last couple of hundred years we have rapidly gained control of the immense forces of Nature. At the same time it has to be admitted with regret that we have made no progress in respect of "our control over ourselves". Indeed many competent observers are inclined to think

that a positive set-back has taken place so far as our ethical and spiritual progress is concerned. This mal-adjustment is a most serious danger that confronts us today.

India's Opportunity

I hope no one would accuse me of too much presumption when I claim with all the humility I can command that, of all the great nations of the world, the ancient Aryan system of government contained the elements of permanency in a much larger measure than any other system that has come down to us. Empires rose and fell, but the Aryan system persisted through the troubles and turmoils, the vicissitudes and uncertainties of political upheavals and revolutions. Now and again, slight accommodatory changes took place in the system so as to adjust it to the shifting environments of the time.

I will not undertake to say much about the Western "scientific" culture which has given us within a single generation two world conflagrations, the like of which history does not record. It is not yet full half a century since the self-breaking atom which has led us to the atomic bomb was discovered. And who can deny that unless

the present Western acquisitive, competitive mentality undergoes a radical change, this century may see the more or less complete disintegration of the civilisation that the machine-cum-atomic age has produced. The change to which I am referring is the partial suppression of the competitive or aggressive elements of the dominant Western culture by the ethical or spiritual elements of the ancient Aryan culture. I am not without a sincere hope that, somehow or other, in the mysterious comic interplay of the tremendous moral and material forces that have been released the world over, there will arise a better and a juster appreciation of the intrinsic values of the two types of cultures and that, *in the end, a new and more lasting and beneficent pattern of human life and conduct would be woven on the Loom of Time.* This hope, this trust, has of course its origin and justification in the conviction that nothing of real value is lost and that, whatever our weaknesses and shortcomings may be, humanity is waiting on a spiritual message from the depths of the unknown. One may laugh at such stuff as this and yet one cannot easily put aside the perception, dim and faint, that as we look

into the abysses of the infinite we are not without silent tidings of some cheering message coming to us, when and where and how we know not but some low and imperfectly understood voices or mutterings are heard holding out the promise that humanity may wait, hopefully, wistfully and not in vain.

The Two Sides of the Same Medal

I have spoken of two types of culture, the modern or Western (European) brand of culture and the group of ancient Asiatic cultures, such as the Aryan, the Semetic and the Chinese cultures. But it must never be forgotten that, essentially, the difference between the two types of culture is not one of intrinsic values, but merely a difference of emphasis. There were machines in common use long before the "machine age" dawned upon and dazzled the West. There were wealthy men thousands of years before one heard of Capitalism and bellicose social and political system based on it. The chief distinguishing characteristic of the Western culture is that it has made the *wealth of nations* and all that it stands for as the great *criterion of worth.* It is the old philosophy or fallacy of mistaking the means for

the end.

The rapid production of the machine created new wants and new desires for their satisfaction in millions of men and women. There was nothing wrong in this except that the process of creating wants and desires easily outpaced the means of satisfying them, while the society knew of only two classes of men, namely, "the haves" and "the have-nots".

The results of such a disposition of goods with the new outlook upon life and society are before us. You may blame "science" for it; you may condemn this nation or that; you may pour all the vials of your wrath upon the Communists, the Fascists, the Nazis, the Democrats and the Republicans or any other political cult, but the fact remains that the new evil brood is the offspring of modern Western culture and civilisation. It is the modern culture that has provided the necessary soil in which alone the evil weeds could germinate and grow, frankly, with all its many recommendations, the West stands in need of revising its estimate of what some of its over-enthusiastic admirers have arrogantly called the *greatest culture known to this earth.*

VI

Pakistan : a Theocratic State

Unenviable must be Mr. Jinnah's present condition of mind. He seems to have lost his memory so completely that he often makes important statements recklessly and without a proper sense of responsibility. I am sorry to say this about a friend whom I have known and admired so long. The latest case of this kind is his statement regarding Pakistan which he made a few days back. In winding up the proceedings of the Muslim League Legislators Convention he said that "Pakistan was not going to be a Theocratic State." "Religion," he said, "played an important part in the life of a nation but there were other aspects which were vital for a nation's existence, social, economic and political." But he had not one word to say as to what these aspects were. The general statement as it stood was quite unexceptionable. In the long resolution adopted by the Convention no attempt

whatever was made to explain what the Pakistan State would be like. The greater part of the resolution was devoted to a bitter and entirely unnecessary attack on the Hindu caste system. For six long years the foremost leaders of the Muslim League had been at pains to set forth in considerable detail the "living resolutions and the sharp and definitely translated will of the Muslims". They wanted "to establish the Government of Islam", . . . "the mass will of the Muslim people of India". "The resolve has been made and we are prepared to achieve it to the end at all costs". I particularly wish to draw the reader's attention to the following passage in the Presidential Address, "*The unchangeable laws of Islam will be applied. There is no need for fresh legislation. There would be prohibition absolute and rigorous, usury would be banished and zakat would be levied. Sikhs, Hindus and Christians will benefit from this democratic-cum-theocratic State.*"

The extracts in the preceding paragraph are taken from the Presidential Address of the Raja of Mahmudabad at the Muslim League Conference at Hubli (Bombay) in 1939 or 1940. In one form or another

the objects of the Muslim League have been expressed by other leaders very much in the same language. The reader may see how deeply the social, economic and political aspects are coloured by the ideals of the "Government of Islam". It is an Islamic *Theocratic State* through and through. Nothing more and nothing less. Mr. Jinnah makes no attempt to explain how, all of a sudden, this ideally *Theocratic State* has become "*untheocratic*". Has Mr. Jinnah ever repudiated the previous authoritative statements about Pakistan being a *Theocratic State?* No. Has any one else done it? No. I challenge Mr. Jinnah to contradict me when I say that the only definite and authoritative characterisation of Pakistan given to the public again and again during the last six years was in the terms quoted above. One Muslim League leader also refers to poll-tax being charged from non-Muslims in lieu of military service. Mr. Jinnah's absurd two-nation theory has greatly intensified the spirit of communal hatred and ill-feeling in masses of university students, six hundreds of whom were sent out *by the Principal of the local Islamia College* to do propaganda work in connection

with the recent elections. The elections were fought—it must never be forgotten—*on the basis of Pakistan* as defined above as a *Theocratic State*. How can the Cabinet Mission negotiate with a body like the Muslim League which is not a constitutional body *according to modern political conceptions?* The elections of the Muslim League cannot form the basis of such a constitution. Let no one forget British statesmen's long-drawn fight with the Caliph Abdul Hamid and the foundation of the *Capitulations*.

VII

The Western (Scientific) Culture and the Indian (Ethical or Spiritual) Culture: a Contrast and a Comparison

Broadly speaking, the Western or "scientific" culture has for its aim and object the attainment of physical power. We see this in the wonderful progress of science and its manifold applications which has led us by rapid strides to the secrets of the Atomic Bomb. Soon after the discovery of the self-breaking atoms (radio active substances) towards the close of the last century, Sir Oliver Lodge made what was then a staggering pronouncement for many people even in the West that if a few grammes of one of these substances were completely broken up, the energy released in the process of disintegration would be enough to *raise the whole of the British Navy from the surface of the sea to the top of Ben Nevis* (nearly 4,500 ft.). No wonder, the world today lives in the dread of the

"new weapon". What this "weapon" can do, the obliteration of the Japanese City, Hiroshima, by dropping a single bomb on it has shown. Overnight Japan submitted and the war in the East came to an end. Suppose a small bomb of this kind which a boy may carry were dropped on a railway bridge spanning across a big river. For miles around it would spread devastation and the bridge or the greater part of it would *disappear*. Not that it would be broken to small bits. The iron would be heated to such an extent that the heavy girders would be converted into gas and not a vestige of them would be left. American and other scientists are busy preparing themselves for observing under the most favourable conditions the full effects of dropping an atomic bomb on a collection of more than a hundred war-ships of various kinds. These experiments would be performed somewhere in the Pacific Ocean within the next few months.

Now if all the energy contained within a bomb a few pounds in weight were doled out to, say, a few thousand large factories, workshops, mills, railway companies, etc., so that *the energy could be em-*

ployed usefully in working them would it not be a most wonderful gift of science to man? Science thus appears before us in two entirely opposite guises. namely, as "the agent of destruction" and as "the angel of plenty". But science is unmoral. Its actions are neither moral nor immoral—*they are unmoral.* It is the motif of the two different cultures that makes for a preponderance of the moral or immoral element. It is in this respect, and this respect alone, that the Eastern cultures differ most from the Western culture. In the Eastern (Aryan, Semitic, Chinese) cultures, the ethical or spiritual element is dominant while in the Western (scientific) culture the palm of supremacy is awarded to the element of physical power with the natural result that the acquisitive, aggressive and competitive characteristics of the Western culture become predominant. Put briefly one may say that speed and greed are its greatest characteristics. In sharp contrast with his compeer of the West, an Easterner is by his whole upbringing slow, patient and forbearing. He makes a virtue of sufferance. He is content to look for his rewards in the future.

The Village as the Unit of the State

We have seen what the modern Western States would be like. In ancient India, the village as a whole formed one corporate body. The village was the unit of the State. According to George Campbell, a distinguished Bengal civilian, who afterwards rose to be Lt.-Governor, some of the villages were *pure republics*, while others were not so "pure". Most writers are not worried over the degree of departure from the cent per cent standard of purity of the "village republics", laid down by the Bengal civilian: they are content to lump all of them together as "village republics".

The officers of the State treated every village as a single independent unit. They transacted all business with it through the appropriate representatives. "They have a machinery through which they distribute all burdens and are enabled to make engagements in common. The whole land is the common property of all and they have certain common responsibilities in return for common rights."* The whole arable land of the village was divided into a convenient number of shares

*George Campbell—*Modern India*, 1853, p. 87.

(called ploughs). The plough was merely symbolical of a unit of share in the village cultivated land. Every cultivator possessed one, two or more ploughs (shares) in the land. The State demand, as also the expenses to meet the common needs of the village, were assessed at so much per plough and each cultivator was called upon to pay accordingly. The village republic administered its own internal affairs. The village officials collected the revenue due to the State and were collectively responsible for the payment of the land revenue in full. The village maintained its own police, was responsible for keeping order, administering justice, punishing offenders, settling disputes. The village also collected funds for the repairs of wells and temples and met the "cost of public sacrifices and charities as well as some of ceremonies and amusements of festivals".

I have entered into these details to show how completely the village undertook the duties, functions and responsibilities of a small democratic administration. It is important to note that the proprietary members of a village republic were all equal and considered themselves masters of the

village, *i.e.*, of all the lands attached to it, the Watchmen, the Priests, etc., being their "servants". The affairs of the village were managed not by one headman but by a Committee or "Punch" *elected by the proprietary community.* As a rule this committee did not exceed half a dozen in number.

It is these independent village republics which the British administrators destroyed and established a highly centralised form of Government in their place. This democratic spirit of the village republics still persists in many of our festivals. It was a dream of Deshbandhu Das and the elder Patel (popularly known as President Patel) to revive the ancient village republics as the units of the Provincial and Indian administration. It is this pattern of State that India would like to present to the world.

A well-known British writer speaks of the republics in the following terms :

"The Aryan system was a scientific organisation based upon sanitary laws and inspired by high ethical and social ideals. It was a scheme of communal village life, worked out by the original

philosophy of one of the most gifted races of mankind in which each section of the community and each individual member of it took their allotted shares of work, for the common weal, not under the compulsion of an autocrat or a ruling caste, but by a clear perception of mutual advantage and a voluntary intellectual leadership."* Such are the outstanding principles upon which the structure of the ancient Aryan village are planned. (The Muslim League Legislators Convention went out of their way to make a bitter and entirely unjustified attack on the Hindu system. I am afraid even Havell's testimony will fail to exorcise the spirit of hatred from their hearts.)

*E. B. Havell—*History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 10.

VIII

What Sir Stafford Cripps Said Five Years Ago

The British politician, it would seem, is a quick-change artiste. One does not know what attitude he will adopt on a particular question tomorrow. Considering the important part Sir Stafford Cripps is playing in conceding the substance of Pakistan to Mr. Jinnah, I cannot do better than to put by his side his own double of only five years ago. We all know that in 1942, Sir Stafford came out to India as Mr. Churchill's ambassador. It may not be so well known that a year earlier he had made a six months' tour of India, interviewed leading Indian and European public men of all shades of political opinion, and then published a long and well-considered statement (May, 1941). The statement is a most interesting document. He sums up his considered opinion by saying :

The Muslim League scheme did not deserve British support.

Could anything be cleaner or more definite? Some Muslims, he said, were dreaming of Muslim domination in India, but everybody realised that this was an impossibility. He himself believed that if the Muslims were to settle their differences with the Congress themselves, "without the injection of communal animosity" they would probably fall in with the Congress.

Sir Stafford Cripps professed at that time to be a 16-anna democrat. According to him the crux of the matter was whether the British Government was prepared to let India exercise the right of choosing its own constitution. "So far," he says, "the British Government has denied this right. But it could not continue to do so for long. The two hundred and fifty millions of Hindus had the right to choose their own constitution and the eighty millions of Muslims had to accommodate themselves with them. They could not stand in their way because they were afraid of Hindu domination. Their own project of a separate Muslim State was

clearly impracticable."

The British Government has conceded the right of the people of India to choose their own constitution, but the right is vested in the "people" of India and not in any particular section or community. Why don't the British talk about a constitution for the Protestants and Roman Catholics and other sections of their community? This is the surest way of making them fight with each other. This is what we call "Divide and Rule policy" of England. I do hope our British statesmen will not make that mistake as they seem to be bent upon making. Not a few among Indians are of the opinion that the real object of playing this game in India is to divert Muslim attention from what is being done in the Near East, in Palestine in particular. Whether this is so or not, one thing is clear—while the Pakistan dream will prove a fiasco in the end, *the British will love for ever the chance of India's friendship.* There may be some trouble. There may even be civil war, but eventually Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and all other communities of India will learn the wisdom of living as brothers and fellow

citizens of the country. The only permanent losers will be the British. On the other hand, if they play their part well and act with justice and generosity towards Hindus, Muslims and others they may link up their name and fame with the Empires of Akbar and Asoka.

May wisdom dawn upon them is my sincere wish and prayer.

However, I regret to add that the discussions between a democratic body like the Congress and an intensely communal party like the Muslim League in the hope of evolving a democratic constitution will remain a political novelty.

IX

India's Special Contribution to the New World Order

I have thought it necessary to emphasise the importance of the village as a *unit of the State* for two reasons :

(1) Because the modern scientific culture which is the special gift of the West has brought with it the spirit of competition, aggressiveness and acquisitiveness—*the parent of Capitalism.* On the other hand, in the group of qualities that go to make up the ethical-cum-spiritual culture of the East, the element of aggressiveness is feeble and may even be very largely suppressed. At one stage or another every teacher, sociologist and statesman must have been struck by this obvious difference between the two types of culture.

(2) As the experience of centuries has shown, the State based on the "village republic" as a unit is endowed with elements of far greater stability and perma-

nence than the modern type of State based on the principles of Western parliamentary democracy.

It is not my object to belaud any one type of State over the other type. I am only concerned here with pointing out the vital difference existing between the modern Western type of State (containing the seeds of destruction within its own constitution) and the ethical Indo-Aryan type of State based on the "village republic" as the unit of it. Havell, whom I have already quoted in a previous article of this series, explains the difference between the two types of States in the following striking words:

"The freedom and general happiness obtained by the people of Great Britain with the help of parliamentary institutions and the richest revenues of the world can hardly be compared with that which Indians within the Aryan pale enjoyed both before and after the fifth century A.D., the time which we regard as our Dark Ages, and theirs. The Indo-Aryan constitution, built up by the highest intelligence of the people upon the basis of the village communities and not wrung from unwilling

warlords and landlords by century-long struggles and civil wars, secured to the Indian peasant proprietor not only the ownership of the land, but very considerable powers of self-government. The powers of the Central Government though they might often be abused were at least delegated to it by the people themselves, and limited by unwritten laws which by common consent were given a religious consent."

Comparing the modern Western or parliamentary system of government with the working of the ancient Aryan system of administration, Havell hesitates to give the palm of preference to the younger sister. He writes:

"The student of Indian history may also be led to consider whether the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain, constituted as it now is on more or less empirical lines, is really more efficient as political machinery than was the philosophic scheme of Indo-Aryan polity in which the common law of the land formulated by the chosen representatives of the people, had a religious as well as a legal sanction, and represented the highest power of the State to which

even the king and his ministers must bow. It will be a surprise to many readers to discover that the Mother of the Western Parliaments had an Aryan relative in India, showing a strong family likeness, before the sixth century and that her descendants were a great power in the State at the time of the Norman Conquest."

I have entered into these details about the Aryan system of administration to show how grossly the Muslim League Legislators Convention misrepresented the Hindu system in their long resolution adopted early last month (April, 1946).

Where Do We Stand ?

The Cabinet Mission has been at work with their enquiries and consultations for nearly a month and yet no one seems to know in what direction the Mission's own mind has been moving. One thing, however, seems to be perfectly clear: they could not have been much impressed with Mr. Jinnah's plea for Pakistan. As a matter of fact, as everybody knows by this time, Mr. Jinnah's strongest point is to keep everyone in the dark about the shape or form of his Pakistan. Like a lawyer with a bad case, he seeks refuge in-

mystification. Even an able and shrewd lawyer like Dr. M. R. Jayakar has come to the same conclusion.

England's Opportunity

As I have said earlier in this series, Britain's greatest achievement in India, for which she will long be remembered with gratitude, has been that she has brought and kept the whole country under one umbrella for a long time. Her name is thus linked up with the illustrious names of Asoka and Akbar. I hope she will jealously guard her reputation and see that it is not tarnished in the slightest degree by any support given in a weak moment to the "two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah". Mr. Jinnah of the Pakistan is not the ardent nationalist and Congressman whom we knew, not so long ago. As Stafford Cripps himself pointed out in 1940, the present-day Pakistani Jinnah is "merely acting as an advocate of certain well-to-do Muslims belonging to the professional, landlord or industrialist classes rather than giving expression to his own views".

About Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sir Stafford Cripps says: "The President of the Congress is himself a Muslim of light

and leading."

An Atmosphere of Pessimism Prevails throughout the Country

On the eve of the Tripartite Conference at Simla, dark clouds of doubt and suspicion overcast the political skies. No one seems to be happy or even hopeful. The Congress and the Muslim League leaders will face each other at Simla without knowing exactly what they are there for. The League leaders are going because the mere mention of two zones is a partial recognition of their demand for a separate Muslim State. The Congress leaders are going, because the Cabinet Mission has refused to clarify the position except after the opening of the Simla Conference and they did not want to lose their case by default. The prospect for a settlement seems to be dark, dismal and cheerless, but for this the Mission have to blame themselves, and themselves alone. One may easily picture to oneself the opening scenes of the Conference. In the light of past experience, the Indian mind is filled with suspicion and mistrust. I will not say more but only express the hope—against every reasonable prospect of hope—that

somehow or the other wisdom will dawn upon the members of the British Delegation that no settlement that is not based upon the principles of progress and democracy will be creditable to the reputation of England or be acceptable to the people of India as a just and durable solution of the Indian problem. As I see it England is losing a great moral opportunity: India may have to reach its destined goal of freedom after crossing a sea of troubles.

X

House That Our Children Will Rebuild for Themselves

Standing on the threshold of the new Atomic Bomb era, India claims a chance to live its own life and to rebuild the ethical culture of simple living and high thinking. These are not mere words but facts of history extending over many centuries. Not that the future will be an exact replica of the past. Even if one wished it, it would be impossible to reproduce the conditions and circumstances of many centuries ago. As the poet says :

Not Heaven itself
  Upon the Past has power,
That which has been, has been, and we
    have had our hour.

But although we cannot revive the past and make tbe heroes of the Aryan epics play their part again before us, we can and must invoke the ethical spirit which inspired their lives. I was myself a great sceptic

about even partially achieving this ideal but having seen with my own eyes the wonderful ethical and spiritual conversion that has been wrought within a single generation under the guidance of a miracle man, Gandhi, I feel convinced that our feet have already been set on the road that will lead to the promised land. I have seen scores of men like C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru live the lives of princes and again, on the touch of the miracle worker, I have seen them transformed into Sadhus. I am conscious that these words will fail to convey the conviction that has grown stronger and stronger in me with every succeeding year. And the men and women who are witnesses to the transformation are not to be counted by the dozen or the score, but by tens of thousands.

Influence of the Modern Age

It is necessary to mention here that while the foundations of the new institutions will be laid on the principles and ideals of the past, the institutions themselves that our children will build will have their windows thrown open to the light and air from the four quarters of the globe. We will not altogether banish the

large-scale mills and factories, nor the railways, the telegraphs, the wireless and the million other scientific inventions and appliances that are the special gift of the present scientific age. Far from dispensing with them, we will do everything in our power to make our own contribution in the same direction. But the India of the future will not slavishly follow the West. So far as might be practicable, it would be our utmost endeavour to cover the land with small-scale industries so that every household—the hamlet of the poor and the palace of the rich alike—might truly possess one, two or more factories in actual working order. In other words, every household would not be a mere consumer of goods, but it would be expected to make a contribution to the common store of manufactured goods for use by the mass of the people.

Three Essential Elements in the Problem That the Indian Reformer Will Have To Face

The old system of rural economy in India has been destroyed root and branch in the spirit, it would seem, of a fanatic iconoclast, so that the whole structure would have to

be designed and erected anew. In this great national effort, I repeat, the mass of the Indian people—the high and the low, the rich and the poor alike—will have to take an equal share.

Overhaul the Present System of Education

India is a country of villagers and the greatest problem, therefore, that faces the reformer today is the question of rural reconstruction. In this connection, I think, I cannot perhaps do better than refer to a most curious incident in my life that occurred towards the close of my career in the Punjab Educational Department. One day my boss complained to me that the rural schools of the province were a failure and that he did not know what he could do with them. He added that the parents of the boys and the Inspectors of the department were both agreed that there was something seriously wrong with their system of elementary education. He was very anxious to know if I had any useful suggestions to offer. I told him that I could work out a scheme for an entirely new type of village school, but that in order to be serviceable it would be necessary for me to devote some weeks to the study of the

subject. He pressed me to help him in this matter and said that the time devoted to the preparation of the scheme would be time well spent.

Briefly, I may mention that while serving under Mr. W. Bell, I had been led to make a fairly intimate acquaintance with the system of elementary instruction in vogue in different European countries. Mr. Bell would often pass on reports on special enquiries in these countries to me. He knew I took some interest in the subject and as he would often subsequently discuss the subject with me I had to make a fairly careful study of the reports. Of these reports, the four volumes of the Report of a Commission of Inquiry in Ireland appeared to me to be specially important and serviceable for my purpose. It dealt largely with the question that I was asked to report upon. I spent a considerable amount of time to the study of the Irish Commission Report as well as some other reports. The conditions in Ireland were not very dissimilar to those in India and I was, therefore, able to draw up a workable scheme of studies for rural schools in my own province. The most important feature of my scheme

was that it combined the rudiments of ordinary instruction with the principles of scientific agriculture and village industries. In the main, I may say without too much presumption that my scheme was framed on the lines of Mr. Zakir Hussain's Wardha Basic Education Scheme, the education being partly self-supporting. Apart from financial considerations, the educative value of making useful things by the children themselves is not sufficiently realised by many teachers and educationists. I remember that one of the industries I specially recommended to be pursued in the village schools was paper-making. I was led to suggest paper-making because paper was in constant demand in schools and the demand was likely to grow. For account books and various other purposes also the demand for paper was rapidly increasing. It would not perhaps be easily realised that only half a century back most of our towns possessed a large or small number of paper factories, each factory costing from Rs. 30 to Rs. 100 to start it. Thus paper was being made at Lahore in a number of houses inside Bhati Gate. Happening to visit Sialkot in 1895 or 1896, I was taken round to no

less than 30 factories where good strong paper (more or less glazed) was being manufactured. If a few thousand factories of this kind were at work in the Punjab at the beginning of war, they could easily have been multiplied and improved and a substantial part of the demand for paper would have been supplied by the local factories. It is a shame that no efforts whatsoever were made to revive the paper industry. In the India of the future most of the paper required would be supplied by the Punjab villages. Some ignorant and too much Westernised people will laugh at this statement, but given the necessary facilities I undertake to make the experiment a financial success. And the same thing could be said about a hundred other industries. The reader may well imagine what this mill means in the life and fortune of the villager.

Returning to my scheme I must mention that the D.P.I. liked my proposals immensely. Eventually Mr. Mohammed Shafi (afterwards Sir Mohammed Shafi) was coopted with us and we three, namely, the D.P.I., Mr. Shafi and myself, sat down to consider the scheme clause by clause till we were able to beat it down into proper shape

and form. The scheme was submitted for sanction to the higher authorities. One summer morning the D.P.I. met me on the roadside near the Punjab Secretariat at Simla. He was very happy to inform me that the scheme had received the approval of the Government and that he would now be able to go ahead with it. But that is the last I heard of it. Some great mystery hangs about it. Whenever I enquired from my boss as to when the scheme was going to be introduced, he expressed complete ignorance as to what scheme I was referring to.

With all my efforts, I could not solve the enigma, but obviously something had happened. I do not know how to account for it, but a small clerk told me that the Military Department had put their foot down on the plan as it was calculated to interfere with the recruitment for the army. How some rays of light came through the clouds I will explain in my next article.

XI

Enlistment in the Army : Is It a Means of Livelihood or a Career ?

Some years subsequent to the mysterious incident to which I referred in my last article, I happened to be discussing the matter with my friend, the late Prof. Gulshan Rai, then Vice-Principal of the local Sanatan Dharam College. He told me he saw no mystery in the D.P.I. dropping my rural education scheme. He had discussed at considerable length, he said, the question of army recruitment with Sir Malcolm Hailey (now Lord Hailey). According to Prof. Gulshan Rai's elaborate enquiries, most of the Indian recruits in the army looked upon their enlistment as a means of earning a livelihood. The number of those who had entered the army because it was an honourable career in the service of their country was, in his view, insignificantly small. In plain words, the majority of the Indian soldiers were

mercenaries ; they were not attracted to the military service by their love of a soldier's life in defending their own country. Sir Malcolm (then Governor of the province) was particularly interested to know how the large irrigation schemes which the Punjab Government had in hand at the time were likely to affect the Jat districts of the south-east Punjab and the Muslim north-western districts of the province (Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Campbellpore) as recruiting grounds for the British army. Sir Malcolm was not a little alarmed to be told that as soon as the economic condition of these areas had improved, they would cease to supply recruits for the army with the same ease and facility as they did at present. But the recruits would then join the army more in the spirit of members of a national force than as mercenaries who are attracted to the army merely for the sake of the meagre pay they got for keeping their body and soul together.

Mass Education the Main Concern of the Village Republics

I have said nothing so far about the

seats of learning in the India of the future. The chief concern of the village republics will be the social, moral and educational advancement of the mass of the people. This does not mean that the higher education of the people will be neglected. A country that had excited the admiration of the world for producing systems of philosophy, that had created great seats of learning like the universities of Takshila, Nalinda, Ujjain and Benares, besides numerous "forest universities" where famous teachers lived and taught, a country that could boast of having produced world-famous works of Art, Science and Literature, such a country had already ensured an honourable place for itself in the cultural history of the globe.

Summing up, I may mention that while the chief characteristic of the Western or scientific system of education was the acquisition of power, the main objective of the Indian system was the attainment of wisdom. The famous slogan of the French Revolution—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity—was a good preparatory step for the attainment of wisdom, but only

a preparatory step. The gaining of power led to inequality and competition, while the world at the present moment stood in urgent need of an extensive exercise of a sincere spirit of humanity and international fellowship. I plead for the Indian system of education because I feel that despite its many beneficent aspects, the scientific system leads rapidly to conditions of moral, social and intellectual instability and disequilibrium. Worst of all, it carries in its own womb the seeds of disruption and distinction. In this respect the testimony of the Atomic Bomb may be taken as final and conclusive.

The British public and, specially, the Cabinet Mission need not be reminded that in handing over the reins of the Indian administration to the people of this country they would not be transferring their important charge to unworthy hands. Should any doubts still linger in their minds, they ought to be banished once and for all by the testimony of such an unimpeachable authority as Sir Thomas Munro, for many years Governor of Madras in the early years of the last century.

Speaking before a Parliamentary Inquiry Committee, Sir Thomas declared that if honest dealing with those around them, and their national culture and civilisation were articles of commerce he was sure England would benefit by an import cargo from India.

A Sudden Set-Back

In planning the present series of articles it never occurred to me that I was embarking upon a task that would make such an enormous call upon my own time and the patience of my readers. Judging by the scale on which I have hitherto been writing, I should contribute at least four more articles. The reader will excuse me if I condense the material into two more articles. I purpose to write a new series of articles, if and when the need for it arises, on the very important subject of Planning for the New Era. When that time will come I do not know. For the present this morning's announcement by the British Cabinet Mission that their proposals stand or fall as a whole has thrown cold water on all our hopes. It has taken the whole country aback with most unfortunate results. I have no wish

to dwell on the awkward situation that has suddenly been created. In particular, the only valid interpretation of the Mission's proposal to force Assam at one end and the N.-W.F. Province at the other into artificial Pakistan groups will go far to convince the whole country that the Mission is sorry that the elections failed to support the Amery-Jinnah Pakistan and this despite all the official efforts to manipulate the census figures in the Punjab and Bengal. The new move will do no good to anybody—least of all to England. Let there be no mistake about it.

XII

Country-wide Extension of Cottage Industries: Textiles—the Greatest National Industry

Originally, I had intended to devote a couple of articles to this part of my subject. In the India of the future small-scale factories will dot the whole countryside as they did before. A poor country like India with no less than 700,000 villages can best be served by home industries. I have no time to dwell on their immense advantages as centres of educational influences and as sources of hand and eye training and art culture besides their obvious economic advantages. It will not be believed perhaps that even as late as my own early years, it was considered a matter of pride for ladies of rank to spin fine thread. *Charkha Bhandars* were frequently held in the mohallas and every town, large or small, was famous for one kind of cotton or silk textile or another. Thus in addition to twenty other great in-

dustries, Lahore enjoyed the reputation as an important centre for the manufacture of a beautiful variety of silk cloth, called *gulbadan* (rose body). It had a most pleasing colour and I heard highly appreciative remarks about it from the lips of several Europeans. The so-called "factories" were located in the yards of small houses, sometimes even in the back-yards of ordinary shops. Three such "factories" were at work not far from my own boarding house near the Water Works and there were more than twenty other silk-weaving looms busily working in the same area.

India not only supplied all her own wants but she also exported large quantities of surplus products with the result, as I have said more than once already, that her imports consisted chiefly of gems, precious stones and precious metals.

The details of India's network of cottage industries would form a most fascinating chapter in our cultural and economic history, but I have no space for them in the present series of articles. The story of the decline and decay of these industries chiefly in the opening

decades of the last century will fill our children with inexpressible sadness and every effort has, therefore, been made to throw a veil over the real facts. One instance only of this kind may here be mentioned. In 1800 a Dr. Buchanan was appointed to carry out enquiries into the social and economic conditions of Southern India. The work was thoroughly and most conscientiously carried out and a few years later Buchanan was asked to extend his searching enquiries to Bengal and Bihar. In particular Dr. Buchanan's reports about spinning and weaving which he calls, again and again, "the very great national industry of India" are most revealing. The reports were, however, not published till 1838 when they were made available but not officially, I think.

Romesh Chundra Dutt learnt about these valuable reports but although he ransacked all the libraries in England, he could not find them. One day he happened to see a heap of old books lying on the ground in a secondhand bookshop. Every lover of books visits these wonderful places and many of them have had great luck in finding a "treasure" for which they had

long been in search in the universities, famous libraries and elsewhere. "What is the price of this heap?" Mr. Dutt asked. The value of secondhand books is determined by the dress and position of the would-be purchaser. "Ten pounds" was the reply Mr. Dutt received to his query. This was not the occasion to haggle about the price. Without a minute's hesitation, Mr. Dutt drew out his cheque book, paid the price asked for and hailing a hackney carriage drove quickly away with his prize. He spent some six months in boiling down the contents into two chapters of his *Economic History of India*. (It is necessary to mention that for the details of the manner in which Mr. Dutt came across Dr. Buchanan's reports I am indebted to a near relation of Mr. Dutt who is himself a scholar and a person of rank.)

Rivers and Canals, Ships and Ship-Building

In the new India that our children and our children's children will build up, they will make a very much more extensive use of our grand river system as means of transportation for men and goods than we have been doing. I wish I had time to

explain how the change in our life and habits would affect us morally, socially and otherwise. The future administrators would also spend a good deal more of public funds in training rivers, building canals, constructing dams and reservoirs than we have been doing. Our present canal system, such as it is, is much more profitable than railways. Indeed during the first half a century the railways caused India a net loss of 50 crores of rupees, besides an immense loss indirectly in various other ways.

More important still is the fact—the apparently unbelievable fact and yet a stern fact—that as late as the time of the East India Company, we were a maritime and colonising nation and that we designed and built our own ships which were at least as big and sea-worthy as those built in England. The evidence in support of this fact is overwhelming.

As the supplier of the world's necessities and luxuries India had a balance of trade in her favour. This balance could only be adjusted by the export of treasure from European and other countries that were commercially indebted to her. India wanted nothing that foreigners could supply

her excepting precious metals. The readers may note that India obtained precious metals from abroad by the natural and peaceful methods of commerce and not of "conquest and rapine", as did many other nations.

Magasthenes mentions that in the age of the Mauryans ship-building was a flourishing industry in India, but it was a State monopoly. The State however let out these ships on hire to merchants and others. During the reign of Asoka the maritime activities of India were further greatly extended both in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific.

Coming to the time of the East India Company, India was a great maritime nation possessing a seaboard of 4,000 miles with about 1,000 harbours and havens. Some of the harbours were fitted up with the best and up-to-date machinery and appliances. The Indian-built ships could compare favourably with English ships both as regards size and sea-worthiness. Some writers—not Indian writers but Europeans—declare that even bigger and better ships were built in India than in England. I will only refer to one of these writers. A French-

man of the name of F. Baltasur Solvyns in an introduction to his interesting book *Les Hindus* (vol. III, 1911) says:

"In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe so that the English attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success in their own shipping. The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patient and fine workmanship."

Thus has passed away one of the greatest national industries of India after a long and brilliant history covering, as we have seen, a period of more than twenty centuries.

XIII

In a series of about a dozen fairly long articles I have tried to set forth some of the outstanding features of India's glorious heritage and briefly to indicate that in relinquishing their important charge to Indian leaders, the British Government will not be transferring their power to hands incapable of grasping it firmly or exercising it to the general good of the people of India and the world at large. It only remains for me now to say a few words about the final proposals of the British Mission and particularly, to see how far they will help India secure an honourable place in the Future World Order.

The Final Proposals Examined : Gains and Losses

I am pained to bring to a close this long series of articles on a note of hopefulness suddenly turned into one of disappointment, though not of helplessness. The Cabinet Mission's latest announcement has overnight

changed the whole scene. What do the artificial, unnatural and unreasonable grouping proposals, for instance, mean? I am sorry a great opportunity for winning over the goodwill and friendship of India is being thrown away. The British Mission have not understood the present temper of the people. I hope I will be pardoned for saying that the Mission have not profited much by their long stay in the country. The final proposals have created deep and wide-spread suspicion and bitterness *as nothing else has ever done.* Is it by such means and methods as these that the Mission intended to persuade India to remain within the British Commonwealth? India will go into the wilderness, but she will not look at any scheme that is framed in the wantonly reactionary spirit of the new proposals. Both Assam and the N.-W.F. Provinces were progressive Congress provinces and have again been returned as Congress (nationalist) provinces. What right have you, I ask, to tie them to an admittedly communal group like the Muslim League? Is this the democracy which you want to offer to India? Is religion going to be the basis of our future constitution?

You are doing a grave injustice to the noble principles which have made England a great nation. You are driving even moderate elements in India away from the side of England.

Parity, a Legacy from Simla Conference of Last Year

Again, we hear cries about "parity". One very high official is said to have declared that it had come as a legacy from the Simla Conference of last year. Why did not Lord Wavell carry out the natural issues of the Simla discussions? The League was as good as wiped out and it could only be saved by Lord Wavell adopting a very novel procedure. He suddenly declared the Conference closed. Again I say this kind of thing does not pay a great nation. Remember: "Righteousness alone exalteth a nation." Mr. Jinnah himself did not admit that any negotiations had taken place between Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Nawab Liaqat Ali Khan. Does it lie in the mouth of Mr. Jinnah to talk about parity now? India will have no lot or part in a commonwealth in which she does not receive a fair treatment. India sincerely wants the support and friendship of

England, but not on such terms as these. England also stands in equal need of Indian friendship but you cannot force her into an unhappy alliance.

The Sikhs Deeply Embittered

It is a sad tale, all the more sad and sickening because the Mission even forgot the claims of the small, brave Sikh community who had done so much to help England in times of her sorest need. They are rightly upset over their unjust treatment. Gratitude they declare in their bitterness does not seem to be among the great qualities of the British. The Sikhs may depend upon it that the whole of India will stand by them in whatever steps they may take to redeem their honour in their present difficulties. The conferences already held at several places in the province have passed angry resolutions that the Sikhs should lose no time in starting a "morcha" against the British. What form the "morcha" will take has not yet been made clear. There are also some indications that the Akali Dal may in future confine themselves to religious work and such constructive work as the propagation of Sikhism, the growth and progress of Punjabi literature, and

measures for the social and economic advancement of the community. The political interests of the community can best be watched and promoted by a separate organisation like the old Sikh Central League which was started in October, 1921, with such a flourish of trumpets, but which died a violent death at the hands of its own leaders. The formation of the Sikh Political League will once again re-unite the scattered elements of the community.

The Proposals : Profit and Loss Account

I. *Gains.*—The most substantial gift of the Cabinet Mission as contained in their proposals is the declaration of independence. The Mission pleads with the representatives of India to join the British Commonwealth but the final choice is left with the people themselves. This is an instance of a singularly generous case, so far as I know, of one nation freely offering freedom to a subject people. In making the independence declaration and sending the present Cabinet Mission to India to give effect to it as smoothly as possible, the British Government has done that which is not known to have been attempted by any other nation. We hope the good effect

of such a generous gesture will not be marred by allowing the " vital defects ", as Gandhiji calls them, to continue to be the essential parts of the proposals. The Mission has startled everybody by declaring that the proposals should be accepted or rejected as a whole.

This was one gain, undoubtedly a very great gain for which we cannot be too grateful to Britain. The British Premier himself supported these declarations. A strong centre was promised and the vivisection of India was condemned. These were also welcomed as most substantial gains.

II. *The Other Side of the Medal.*—An amplification of the proposals followed which soon changed the whole aspect of affairs.

(*a*) Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan though rejected in words was granted in substance. The free choice of independence proved to be no better than a mirage.

(*b*) Real power still remained for an indefinite period in British hands. The paramountcy supported by the British army was enough to dash the cup of hope from the lips.

(*c*) Worst of all, the communal basis of

the promised or proposed constitution was confirmed, keeping the door wide open for ever for serious conflicts. Mr. Jinnah's speech (May 6) leaves no doubt on this point.

Thus in the last analysis everything that we had welcomed thankfully at first we were forced to reject outright, because we discovered that even the freedom of the provinces as ensured by the elections was taken away. The Cabinet Mission's artificial "grouping" plan alone makes the proposed structure quite uninhabitable. It does not make for communal peace and harmony, leading to nationalism. On the other hand, it creates and encourages the very conditions that give rise to communal clashes and conflicts. It is Pakistan in practice. I am exceedingly sorry for the manner in which Pakistan is being introduced. I should have preferred the Mission telling us frankly: "We are in power and we mean to grant Pakistan" to Mr. Jinnah as already promised by Mr. Amery.

(*d*) The A B C groups will make the constitution a hotch-potch of communal and nationalist elements with no power and no cohesion. The North-Western Muslim

group will swallow up the small Sikh community which will thus cease to exercise any influence on the all-India Union.

(*e*) Considering the heterogeneous character of the Union, it is obvious that the Indian centre will not be coherent enough to form a nation strong and compact enough to exercise her just influence on international affairs. It will also be a weak body for entering into an alliance or treaty with England or for rendering effective support to her in times of need. The constituent bodies of the Central Government or the Union belong to entirely different categories. So far as one can judge, it will be partly communal, largely nationalist (Congress) and overwhelmingly feudal states, the two Muslim groups and the Princes group forming with the Congress a motley crew, lacking uniformity of constitution or cohesive power. Does it not strike the Mission that a constitution based on such incongruous elements as these cannot be serviceable for any effective administrative purpose. The Princes will be guided by the British Government while the two communal groups and the Congress group will be in constant opposition to each

other.

India's National Strength and Solidarity a Supreme Factor in International Affairs

I am afraid not many political leaders in India have clearly grasped the fact that the rise of new India as a united, compact and powerful independent nation will serve as a great stabilising force in world politics. It will cement the spiritual elements in the Buddhist-cum-Confucian culture in the Far East, on the one hand, and the Arab and Jewish cultures in the Near East on the other. Furthermore, it will have a tendency to reconcile the scientific culture and civilisation of the West with the spiritual cultures of the East. In the new age of the Atomic Bomb India as a cementing force can alone save the world from disruption and dissolution. Mr. Jinnah may appeal to certain elements of his community by the cry of "Islam in danger". The real danger to Islam comes from its conflict with European-cum-Jewish culture. It is a pity Muslim leaders in India do not know, or knowing deliberately shut their eyes to what has been happening in the Near East and particularly during the past thirty years. I would draw their pointed attention to the

following landmarks of this short period : Allenby's overtures to the Arabs, Arab leaders' Treaty with MacMahon, the Secret Treaty with the Weiseman group for etablishment of a Zionist Home in Palestine, followed by rapid immigration of Jews, buying out Arabs and forming large economically self-supporting Jewish settlements, the rapid growth of Jewish population from less than ten per cent to dangerously near the parity limit, the bitter struggle between the Jews and the Arabs, the British influence thrown on the side of the Jews, the so-called Tagart Wall, clashes, conflicts, American-British compact, the Commission and its report recommending the introduction of 100,000 Jewish immigrants into Palestine year after year, the present bitterness.

I myself believe that the events in the Near East are the real cause of the British Cabinet encouraging and supporting Pakistan in India as nothing will be so helpful to England in her Near East struggles as a weak disorganised India. In the process the spiritual elements of Islam will disappear. Remember that the real strength of Islam lies not in the Islamic

creed, as in the spirit of it, the unshared unity of Godhead which captivated and almost hypnotised Carlyle, for instance.

Will the Islamic leaders awaken to the danger they run in what Mr. Jinnah and his Pakistan confederates are aiming at ?

An Apt Punjabi Proverb

I am reminded of a familiar Punjabi proverb : "Bakri dudh dendi eh par mengnan pa ke." (The goat yields milk but she always throws some dung-balls into it.) If we refuse to drink such dirty milk, who can blame us ?